

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

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"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

ANN PEARSON, Publishing Agent.

VOL. 10.—NO. 5.

SALEM, COLUMBIANA COUNTY, OHIO, SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 16, 1854.

WHOLE NO. 467.

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

MARLBORO CONVENTION.

A meeting of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, by call of its agents, was convened at 10 A. M., on Saturday, Sept. 2d, in a grove two miles north of Marlboro, Stark Co., Ohio. The President of the Society took the Chair, and Charles H. Garrigues was appointed Secretary. The appointment of a Business Committee followed, consisting of C. C. Burleigh, Leonard Griffing, Lewis Morgan, Wm. Hilliard and B. C. Gilbert. On motion of Lewis Morgan, C. S. S. Griffing, Mary L. Gilbert, Lavinia Thorp and Lewis Erwin, were appointed a Committee of Finance, and upon the affairs of the A. S. B. A. recess was taken for an hour and a half.

At 12 P. M., the meeting was called to order, and the following resolutions were offered by the Business Committee:

Resolved, That the word sin is without meaning, if it do not in a pre-eminent degree apply to Slavery, inasmuch as there is no law of nature which it does not outrage—no command in the decalogue which it does not violate, no principle or precept of Jesus or Jehovah which it does not set at defiance.

Resolved, That the sin and crime of Slavery are not that it requires new territory for its own extension; that it sacrifices freedom of speech, of the press, or of locomotion, the right of trial by jury or of habeas corpus; that it seeks to compel the people of the North to return fugitive slaves to bondage, or to pay their price and suffer other penalties, though all this it does; but that it seizes man, the image and likeness of the invisible God, disdains every human and divine attribute, quenches the spirit and soul as far as possible in utter darkness, and blinds the body, thus imbruted, in chains, vs. property, to be driven as a beast under the scourge, whenever, wherever and however the will or caprice, the law or the lust of iron-spirited tyrants shall elect or desire; therefore,

Resolved, That our warfare is with the slave claimant, upon the doctrine that man can never, under any possible or conceivable circumstances, hold his fellow man.

Resolved, That American Slavery is not only a disgrace and curse to America, but a hindrance to the triumph of liberal principles and to the establishment of popular forms of government among the nations of the earth at large.

Resolved, That the advocates and upholders of American Slavery are the friends of oppression and tyranny, of wrong and cruelty, in every part of the world, while the enemies of American Slavery are the friends and benefactors of the whole human race.

The discussion of these resolutions then ensued.

Mr. LEONARD B. GRIFFING said: It is said in these resolutions that slavery is a sin. Are there any serious consequences to be apprehended from the commission of sin and continuance in it, by intelligent men? If there be not, if no retribution may reasonably be anticipated, selfishness may induce us to remain silent and inactive. But if there be accountability for wrong-doing, now is the time for us to pause and consider the consequences to ourselves and others. I have come to the conclusion that it is time for me to feel all I ought to feel, to do all I ought to do on the subject of Slavery. There is a class who profess to believe in God and to worship him, and that they expect at some future day, to be accountable to him, who, although convicted of the right, pursue the wrong, and defer the day of repentance. And, there is another, and I am thankful it is an increasing class, who believe they must begin to meet consequences now. However I may have been connected with those who cry peace, when there is no peace, I believe that we never can escape present responsibility, no more than the future retribution which awaits us for our participation in this crime. The African slave-trade has ever required the most selfish and devilish men to carry it on, and yet it has had the sanction of men highly popular, both ecclesiastically and politically. I know a village in the East, where there are individuals who have amassed millions by this traffic; but it is all wasted and gone. Some of these are in situations needing charity to eke out their existence.

After all that has been said and done to awaken the public mind, the community is still asleep. Men are as dead, apparently, to the real nature of this crime, as of any other that can be imagined. But the Anti-Slavery cause is the cause of God. Heaven has set an approving seal upon it. All of the infernal powers are inadequate to stop its onward progress. The electric shock is being felt throughout community, and the work must still be done.

C. S. S. GRIFFING said: I will read again the resolutions. You will perceive we differ from those who assert there may be circumstances where there is no sin in the relation of slaveholding. And we differ, too, from those who only aim at restricting Slavery to its present limits, who aim to render it sectional, and proclaim their willingness for a government in which they can meet and act with slaveholders as brothers, in legislative council. We differ, likewise, from those who ask such a modification of slave-catching laws, that if a man be consigned to slavery by the decision of a jury, they will say Amen, and help fulfill the law. Our warfare is truly with the slave claimant, and we demand the surrender of his undug claim to human ownership in all places and under all circumstances. What hope for the slave of Carolina, from a party which seeks only the repeal of the Nebraska swindle, or the modification of the slave laws? What matters it to him where he is located, or by what tenure held, when body and soul is put at the mercy of an irresponsible tyrant?

C. C. BURLEIGH said: These resolutions are fundamental—they begin at the bottom. People who assert verbally to propositions like these, do not always perceive the full extent to which such assertions logically commits them. For instance, who may admit their truth, who still continue in religious fellowship with slaveholders. Others, also, who refuse to withdraw from the political parties, which are bound by the common platform to which they have subscribed, to fulfill the behests of the state power. And again, there are those still further advanced in their opposition to slavery, but who, in swearing fealty to the Constitution of the U. S., by themselves and their agents, compel themselves to a choice between perjury or the defense of Slavery. These are some of the reasons why we must continue to press the proposition that Slavery is a

sin against God, and opposed to the whole tenor of the Christian Gospel.

Just think of the condition at which the American people have arrived, when it has become necessary, gravely, and laboriously and perseveringly to argue before them the sinfulness of making a beast, a chattel, of a man! To this degradation have we sunk, when men of cultivated intellects, "of sapient eye serene," of high position ecclesiastically and politically, not only fail to acknowledge the truth of our doctrine, but positively pronounce it false, and claim for the institution of Slavery the sanction of the God of Heaven.

By the Constitution, and the statutes made under it, they also assume the rightfulness of Slavery, and in this mode attempt to legalize and justify the changing of a man into a brute. Before this audience, I need not argue this point, unless you point me to the man who will assent to the doctrine that it would be right to reduce himself to Slavery.

There be those who admit the right of the slave to escape from bondage, but deny our right to assist him. But it is easily demonstrable that what is right for another to do, it must be right for us to assist him in doing, so far as we may have it in our power.

Slaveholding being sin, on all occasions and in all ways, it should be treated as a sin. Sometimes it is said that, although man-stealing is a sin, yet we should not attach this stigma to the names of our Southern brethren, for they have come into the possession of their slaves by purchase or inheritance. To this our answer is—no slave lives who has not been, in his own proper person, stolen! And divide and subdivide as you may the period of his servitude, he is stolen, and the thief renewed and re-newed, in every one of these. It is a daily and hourly stealing and kidnapping. It is not true that any slaveholder has obtained his victim honestly. Were I to give you a deed for all this land which surrounds us, it would not convey a title to you, for I possess none in it; and for the same reason there can be no transfer of human property. The rightful owner is ever at hand, claiming possession of his own,—himself. When the infant of the slave mother is assumed to be and treated as property, a crime is committed quite equal to that of stealing a man from his native haunts in Africa. If to reduce a human being in Africa to the condition of a slave be piracy, so it is to do the same thing in America. The slave's right to freedom never expires. It is always part and parcel of his existence. It makes no difference where you steal the man, the crime is the same, and so it should be treated. And as the nation by its laws has applied the brand of piracy to the enslaving of the native African, it has, by inevitable logical consequence, placed the seal of the same condemnation on slaveholding in America.

The Convention then adjourned till half-past 9 of Sunday the 3d.

SUNDAY MORNING SESSION.

When the Convention came to order, an appropriate prayer was offered by Leonard B. Griffing. A song by the Marlboro Choir preceded the further discussion of the resolutions. In the absence of the Secretary, Joshua Morgan was appointed his assistant. Mr. Griffing, of Connecticut, then addressed the meeting at some length. After a song by the Heightons, C. C. Burleigh introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery enterprise is, in the true sense of the term, a religious enterprise, its fundamental principles being identical with those inculcated by Jesus and his apostles; its measures accordant with the spirit of the gospel, and its success essential to the complete triumph of Christianity in our land.

Advocating this resolution, Mr. Burleigh said: The resolution asserts that ours is a religious enterprise. This may sound strange to many, who have heard their Doctors of Divinity, their Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers in the Church give character to those who are engaged in carrying it forward. Who has not heard them denounce those who have borne the burden of the contest as infidels? But I would counsel you to stop and seek a definition of the word infidel, as used by these men. [Here the speaker read an extract from an orthodox clergyman in Connecticut.] "A race of infidels has arisen, not profane, unchaste, immoral, as were their predecessors, and as many of their contemporaries are; but evincing a regard for God, for truth, for humanity, for morals; and whose complaint is, that the Church is arrayed against God, against truth, against humanity, against sound morals. It is an evil hour when infidelity can marshal its forces with humanity for its watchword, with the conscience of the world on its side, while Christianity in the hands of those who betray it interests, lends forth its hosts to do battle for oppression."

So that the preacher calls infidelity, is marshaling its forces, with humanity for its watchword, and the world's conscience on its side. Now what is humanity, in its broad sense? In a restricted sense, but that in which it is frequently, perhaps most frequently used, it is kindness, compassion, pity for the suffering, the disposition to relieve distress, to help the needy and oppressed. In this meaning of the word, we have a hint at what is included in its full and broad significance. What hope for the slave of Carolina, from a party which seeks only the repeal of the Nebraska swindle, or the modification of the slave laws? What matters it to him where he is located, or by what tenure held, when body and soul is put at the mercy of an irresponsible tyrant?

C. C. BURLEIGH said: These resolutions are fundamental—they begin at the bottom. People who assert verbally to propositions like these, do not always perceive the full extent to which such assertions logically commits them. For instance, who may admit their truth, who still continue in religious fellowship with slaveholders. Others, also, who refuse to withdraw from the political parties, which are bound by the common platform to which they have subscribed, to fulfill the behests of the state power. And again, there are those still further advanced in their opposition to slavery, but who, in swearing fealty to the Constitution of the U. S., by themselves and their agents, compel themselves to a choice between perjury or the defense of Slavery. These are some of the reasons why we must continue to press the proposition that Slavery is a

spirit of life, whereby a being fashioned of the dust became "a living soul," an embodied emanation of the Divine essence,—God manifest in the flesh. All are princes of a royal household, of a Sovereign who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords. What is it to us that one calls himself master, and terms another slave? Boasts his Anglo-Saxon blood, and looks with scorn upon his neighbor, whom he styles an African! All are alike of one lineage, children of one God.

This, then, is our starting point, we next come necessarily to the conclusion that Slavery is essentially and invariably wrong. For by what process of right can man enslave his brother, and transmute the children of God into marketable commodities? And in thus arriving at the demonstration of the essential and invariable sinfulness of slavery, we are compelled to perceive the duty of immediate emancipation, and to labor for its accomplishment.

The resolution declares these principles to be identical with those inculcated by Jesus and his apostles. On this point I need spend little time, for you have your New Testaments at home, and can read in them for yourselves, the teachings of Jesus, and of Paul and his fellow apostles. That they teach the brotherhood of man, and the duty of recognizing that brotherhood; the wrongfulness of denying it in act, and the duty of ceasing all wrongdoing immediately, you need no argument or testimony from me to prove. Their language is, as you already know, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" do unto others as ye would that they should do to you; God hath made of one blood all nations of men, all the law is fulfilled in one word, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" if ye have respect unto persons ye commit sin; we that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak; bear ye one another's burdens; be kindly affectionate one to another, in honor preferring one another; and abundance more of the same kind.

But we never read, degrade, and oppress thy neighbor; we that are strong may compel the weak to minister to us; roll off thy burdens upon others; prefer yourselves in all things; and the like.

The next point in the resolution is that the Anti-Slavery enterprise is a truly religious one, because it aims to make these New Testament doctrines, these fundamental truths a practical reality, and that, too, where the need of their practical application is most urgent. We go to the lowly, the outcast, the degraded, and apply them to these. To those robbed of themselves and consigned to ignorance, debasement and heathenism. We reach down to the lowest stratum of human nature, and labor to lift it up, knowing that if we elevate this we raise also the supererogatory mass. If Christianity is good for anything, here is the place to test its goodness. If it cannot do this, if it be not competent, when applied, to perform what is demanded by the necessities of this case, we are to do it. If it cannot bring glad tidings to the poor, bind up the broken hearted, and set the captive free, it is time that it be exposed as a delusion and imposture. We believe it can do this, and therefore are diligent in our efforts to accomplish by it what we believe to be its mission to humanity.

I pass to the next point in the resolution which claims for the enterprise a religious character, because its measures accord with the principles and teachings of the gospel. Our method is the proclamation of the truth. We use not carnal but spiritual weapons. We appeal not to the sword of battle and the confused noise of warriors, with garments rolled in blood; but to that moral power whose action, though unheeded by the worldly-wise, is sure and irresistible. We aim not to batter down the oppressor's stronghold, and his captive's dungeon, with cannon shot, but we purpose to diffuse through the whole atmosphere which surrounds them, an element of such caustic potency as shall eat into and corrode the solid granite, destroy the cohesion of its minutest particles, first crumpling their massive walls, then pulverizing them to an impalpable powder, and at last dissolve them to an invisible vapor which shall float away on the wind.

We remember that old the plan devised "to save them that believe," was by "the foolishness of preaching;" and in this philosophy we have unfeeling faith. We know that when we appeal to violence, we place ourselves upon a level with the oppressor, and have no longer the advantage of our weapons. Rejecting the resort to physical force ourselves, we cannot contentment or encourage its use by those for whom we plead. We believe Slavery can never be abolished till the heart is reached. Thus we aim to reach the understanding by the power of truth, and touch the heart by the power of love. To moral power alone we appeal, knowing that if we convert the people by this, all the rest will follow.

The last point in the resolution is, that the triumph of Christianity can never be complete till the Anti-Slavery enterprise is successful. So long as man is imbruted by Slavery, it is manifest that a religion which is founded on universal human brotherhood can never prevail.

HALF-PAST 1, P. M. The meeting again convened, and was addressed by Henry Riley, who represents himself to be a fugitive slave. What spirit is it which prompts men to do good, to relieve the suffering and assist the helpless? Is it not that divine spirit of love, which is the essence of His character, whom Jesus represents as His Father and our Father, his God and our God? In its original, strict, and widest sense, humanity means the sum of all the qualities which make up man, whether in the individual or the race. It is synonymous with manhood, and expresses all which is peculiar and essential to our nature. It is the "brotherhood of man," a formula which expresses a world of glorious truth, and implies as much as it professes. For brotherhood is a common origin as well as a common nature and right. In this formula, therefore, is contained the doctrine of human equality, and of the Divine Fatherhood. It teaches us to recognize every man, of whatever clime, color or condition, as a brother, a child of a common Father. No matter what the complexion or the conformation, all are members of one family, co-heirs of the same rich inheritance of a lofty nature, by virtue of their creation in the Divine image, and of that inbreathing of the

spirit, if we but "clear the way." No wonder the patriots call us traitors; we are such. This audience has to be false to the government, to listen to the words of the fugitive slave who has just addressed us from this platform. If we were true to the government, he would not dare to be with us. We should be delivering him up to his master.

One of the greatest obstacles in our way is the Church and Ministry. By them Slavery has been set up as God, and worshipped. For the sake of Slavery, they ignore the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and the eternal truths upon which it is founded.

Singularly, in our experience, we have to-day two ministers upon our platform. They are taking themselves out of the way, and the consequence to them, I doubt not, will be persecution by their sectarian brethren.

The whole of the resolutions before the Convention were adopted by a unanimous vote. The Finance Committee gave notice that they were not prepared for a full report, but that one should appear in the next number of the Bugle.

After another song the convention adjourned sine die.

Gillette has been in the Senate but a short time; long enough, however, to give evidence, that he has a sound head and a strong heart. He loves the Anti-Slavery cause, as well as Chase and Sumner, and surpasses them in zeal for the no less precious cause of temperance.

To come to the abolitionists in the House. All call him "Old Giddings." An able man is he. His rough, strong, common sense, is worth infinitely more than the refinement and polish of which so many light minded men are vain. He is ready and powerful in debate. An honest and fearless man, is he. I shall never forget the many proofs which I witnessed of his unflinching devotion to the right and the true. If his severity upon slaveholders is, sometimes, excessive, nevertheless it is not for them to complain of it. He learned it of them. Or, to say the least, it is a very natural retaliation for the wrongs and outrages, which, for a dozen or fifteen years, they have been industriously heaping upon him. Greatly do I rejoice to see that the friends of freedom have taken him up for another election to Congress. They honor themselves in honoring him. There should not be one vote against him.

I must not fail to advert, in this connexion, to my great obligations to Mr. Giddings for the assistance, which he so kindly and generously afforded me, in my ignorance of the rules of the House.

We turn, next, to Edward Wade of Ohio. A stranger, looking over the House, who sits in the corner of it. But let him read Edward Wade's remarks given in his speech on the Nebraska bill, or hear one of his five minutes speeches, and you will find that he has another occasion for applying the Savior's injunction: "Judge not according to the appearance."

Let us, as you are aware, I want to Congress with very little hope of the peaceful termination of American slavery. I have returned with less. I still see no evidence, that the North will act effectively for such termination—for I still see no evidence, that it will act honestly for it. It is true, that I learn of anti-Negro indignation meetings, all over the north. But this does not greatly encourage me. It is repudiation, not indignation, which the North needs to feel, and to manifest. It becomes not the North to be angry with the South about the Nebraska bill, or about any other pro-slavery thing. Her duty is to confess her shame and sorrow, that her political, ecclesiastical, and commercial influence has gone to uphold slavery, and to deceive the but-too-willing to be deceived. As you are aware, I want to Congress with very little hope of the peaceful termination of American slavery. I have returned with less. I still see no evidence, that the North will act effectively for such termination—for I still see no evidence, that it will act honestly for it. It is true, that I learn of anti-Negro indignation meetings, all over the north. But this does not greatly encourage me. It is repudiation, not indignation, which the North needs to feel, and to manifest. It becomes not the North to be angry with the South about the Nebraska bill, or about any other pro-slavery thing. Her duty is to confess her shame and sorrow, that her political, ecclesiastical, and commercial influence has gone to uphold slavery, and to deceive the but-too-willing to be deceived.

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